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kind such as the one alluded to above, which covers only the highly important fields of jurisprudence and of international relations on their governmental side. The surpassingly important task on which these specialists of many kinds are engaged while the peoples of the world watch has enlisted the best intellects of the time. Some of the delegates, advisers and onlookers are of a sort that have been present at such conferences from the dawn of history. Others come to the Paris Conference as pioneers. They, as well as the jurists, need to internationalize for permanent consultation and action.

WILLIAM LADD

IN AT least two of the leading journals of the United States there have appeared during the past month elaborate summaries of the history of the evolution of the concept of an international organization to promote the welfare of a law-governed world. In them no mention has been made of William Ladd, author of "An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes Without Resort to Arms," which was published in 1840, at a time when Mr. Ladd was an official of the American Peace Society and editor of its official journal. The same indictment of omission must be brought against a book just published, entitled, "National Governments and the World War," written by professors in two leading American universities, and in which the part played by European jurists and publicists is fully stated.

Now, it is partially if not wholly forgivable when European interpreters of the historic movement for abolition of war fail to note the pioneering work of William Ladd, but not so when his own countrymen are concerned, and especially since it has come to pass that during the past seventy-five years the United States has played a major rôle in constructive international action, culminating in the present weight of her idealism and political and economic power, as her spokesmen shape the record now being made in Paris.

In the light of what already has been tentatively agreed upon by the Peace Conference it would repay any person who has a sense of "historicity" and who is given to studies in comparative jurisprudence to take the prize-winning essay of 1840, which Ladd wrote, and see how far, both in principle and in detail, he heralded the coming day. Such an investigator will be repaid as well as surprised.

The Congress of Nations which he desired to see brought into being and functioning was not to conceive itself to be concerned with insurrections, revolutions, or contending factions of peoples or princes, or with forms of government, but with the intercourse of nations in

peace and in war. Rights of belligerents toward each other were to be defined, as were the rights of neutrals. Agreement was to be had "on measures of utility to mankind in a state of peace," that is to say, a broad social and economic platform was to be laid for race betterment. Lastly, a court of nations was to be created, which would settle disputes according to the code of international relations defined by the congress.

Thus spake the man of vision. As a Yankee, shrewd and practical, he added:

"That this attempt at a Congress of Nations, or even a dozen more, should prove abortive on account of defects in their machinery or materials, ought not to discourage us, any more than the dozen incipient attempts at a steamboat, which proved abortive for similar reasons, should have discouraged Fulton. Every failure throws new light on this subject, which is founded in the principles of truth and equity. Some monarch, president, or statesman—some moral Fulton, as great in ethics as he was in physics, will yet arise, and complete this great moral machine, so as to make it practically useful, but improvable by coming generations. Before the fame of such a man your Caesars, Alexanders, and Napoleons, will hide their diminished heads, as the twinkling stars of night fade away before the glory of the full-orbed king of day."

REPARATION AND ART

ACTION taken by the Academie des Beaux Arts of France and the Conseil Supérieur des Beaux Arts of Belgium may force upon the Peace Commissioners at Paris settlement of an issue which the Italian government previously had raised by its insistence that Germany and Austria make good, so far as possible, the damage done in Venice to works of art, payment to be made in kind. What the French and Belgian art authorities request is that part of the general policy of reparation shall be a concession to the plundered nations, and to this effect; not only must works of art taken out of France and Belgium be restored when they can be, but in addition, France and Belgium must be allowed to take from German collections the equivalents in value of works of art destroyed during the recent Hun invasion. Broadly speaking, this demand already has had the formal backing of American and British art organizations, and it may be said with truth that so far as a majority of the artists and lovers of art of the nations that defeated Germany are concerned, they stand back of this appeal to the Commissioners.

Scrutiny of the history of acquisition of many of the choicest possessions in British and French national collections would disclose facts not altogether creditable

if present day ethical standards are applied. Wealth in the form of art, centuries ago, was inventoried by conquerors as desirable to list on the bill of spoils to be filched from the defeated people and nation; and whatever Germany has done in this war she has precedents for. Had she won, Paris and Rome would have been stripped as ruthlessly of their portable art masterpieces as Northern France and Belgium have been denuded of their machinery and portable wealth. The point of this new move by the French, Belgian, and Italian governments is that it calls for a decision, before the war ends, on terms of peace which will cover a detail of war's criminality not always formally faced hitherto, and that it asks for a process of justice which is natural and not artificial.

The National Institute of Arts and Letters in the United States has put itself on record in the following resolution :

Resolved: That the National Institute of Arts and Letters petition the Peace Commissioners of the United States to require that the peoples of Germany and of Austro-Hungary shall return what has been stolen and shall make reparation for all injury and destruction as may be judicially determined, by paying from the stores of Belgian, French, and Italian works of art, accumulated in the public museums of Germany and Austria-Hungary; and that, so far as possible, the payment be made, picture for picture, statue for statue, object of art for object of art.

Resolved: That this exaction be demanded not merely as indemnity in kind but also as a decree of justice, to satisfy the soul of civilized humanity and to warn the world in future that reparation is foreordained as a reply to depredation.

THE preamble of the constitution of the League of Nations has no reference to the Deity nor any recognition of the Providential ordering of affairs of men. The omission is leading to formal action by ecclesiastical organizations with the request that President Wilson bring the matter to the attention of his associates in Paris. As recently as 1832 a formal compact between Chile and the United States began, "In the name of God, author and legislator of the universe," and the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War began, "In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity." The covenant of the Mayflower Pilgrims in 1620 opened with the words, "In the name of God." The omission in the first draft by the commissioners in Paris may or may not have been intentional. If it was it probably reflected conditions of the times in the realm of theology and ethics that are as startlingly new and portentously radical as are the economic and political transformations which the commissioners face.

YALE'S expert authority on taxation, Professor T. S. Adams, who has been the right-hand man of the Secretary of the Treasury during the war, closed a recent article describing the economic and fiscal problems which the nation is attempting to solve by progressive forms of taxation, with a phrase that has a far-reaching implication. He said that "simplicity must give way to the complexity of truth." To read the speeches of some lawmakers and the editorials of some journalists you would never imagine that the world—and especially the Paris Conference—faced today the most intricate tangle of history.

ASSISTANT Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt quotes President Wilson as saying to him recently, that America's failure to endorse the League of Nations in some form or other would "break the heart of the world." President Wilson in his speech at the New York Metropolitan Opera House the night before he took ship a second time bound for Paris, said that "the heart of the world is awake and the heart of the world must be satisfied." It is significant how the old word "heart" is being used now in connection with solution of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, ethical crisis humanity has known.

To Honorable Theodore Marburg, former United States Minister to Belgium, and long identified with the "Peace movement," must be credited the title "Magnissima Charta of human liberties," as applicable to the covenant and constitution of the League of Nations. He had a classical education, evidently.

NATURAL speculation as to where the League of Nations will set up government is rife. Champions of The Hague, Paris, Berne, Geneva, Washington, and Jerusalem already have appeared. The argument in favor of Jerusalem set forth by Zangwill, the English Jew, is based on the premise that in that ancient city three of the race's greatest religions would naturally find a world's capital. The plea would have more weight if the decision were to be shaped by religious sentiment, but it will not be.

Since critics of the first draft of the constitution for the League of Nations are busy challenging—without basis of fact—the sources of income and remuneration of some of the men and organizations that believe in a law-governed and a federated world, they must not be surprised if they are asked to make full revelation concerning the sources of the journalistic and forensic propaganda hostile to the League.